

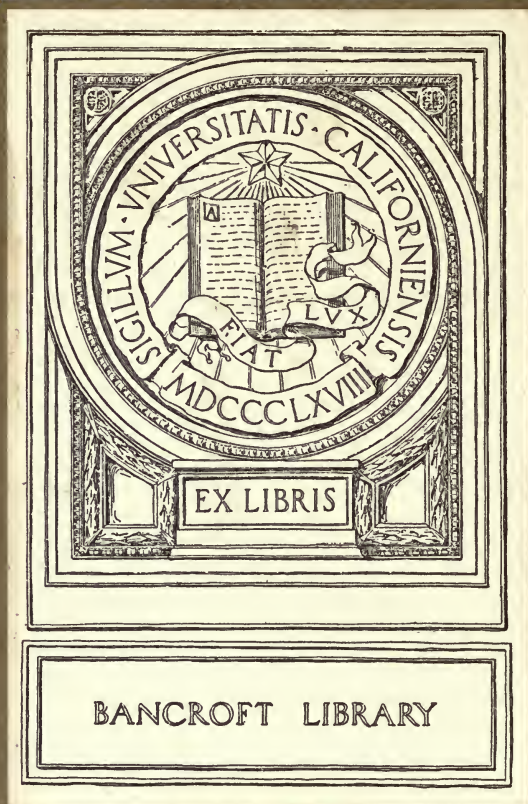
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No. 349

SPEECH
OF THE
HON. J. PATTON ANDERSON,
ON THE
INDIAN WAR IN WASHINGTON AND OREGON.

AUGUST 6, 1856.

The House having resolved itself into Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, Mr. ANDERSON said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: It is not my purpose to enter upon a discussion of any of the political topics of the day. I desire to discharge a duty which could not have been performed at an earlier day of the session, without in some measure infringing upon the parliamentary rules of the House. I wish to call the attention of the Committee and of the country to the condition of things as they exist in the Territories of Oregon and Washington. It is not unknown to the Committee, that for nearly twelve months an Indian war has been raging throughout the length and breadth of those Territories—a cruel, merciless war, in which many lives have been sacrificed and whole settlements devastated.

I propose, first, sir, to inquire into the causes which led to this war; and in this connexion we may ascertain *who is to blame* for its inception; second, the manner in which it has been conducted, both on the part of the civil and military departments of the government exercising their proper functions in those Territories; and here we will see what part has been played by the Governors and volunteers on the one hand, and by the military commander of the Pacific department on the other. And lastly, I shall advert to the *relief* which it seems to me proper that Congress should afford at an early day.

But before I proceed to inquire into the causes of the war, I beg pardon for digressing so far as to notice a few remarks which fell from the senior member from Ohio (Mr. GIDDINGS) a few months ago, while the Army appropriation bill was under discussion. On that occasion he saw fit to allude to the war in Washington and Oregon in a tone condemnatory of the people of those Territories, and, among other things, gave us his idea of the Indian character generally, and of those west of the Rocky mountains in particular. Hear him: I read from his corrected speech published in the Appendix to the Globe, page 526: "I knew something of the Indian character in early life; I saw them in the war of 1812; many of them were attached to our army; I studied their strategy of war, and learned something of their conduct in times of peril; they never forget a kindness, nor do they ever forgive an injury. No class of people in the world are more grateful for favors * * * * * none more docile, none more hospitable than those of Oregon," &c.

Now, sir, I dislike to disturb such pleasing fancies. With all his experience and astute observation, he has been sadly imposed on in this particular. Such characters as he has described exist only in fancy. They figure prominently in Cooper's novels and Hiawatha, but they never roam the western wilds in flesh and blood. It will be news, indeed, to those familiar with the Indians of the far west, to learn that they "never forget a kindness." My own experience is, sir, (and it is composed of three years' constant, daily intercourse with them,) that they never *remember* one; and I venture to assert that such is the experience of nine-tenths of the white settlers in my Territory. Let us see how far the experience and

observation of a shrewd, observant, and efficient officer of the army, who has spent four or five years in the midst of these tribes, correspond with that of the senior member from Ohio, (Mr. GIDDINGS.) I read from the report of Captain Ingalls, as published with the "Message and Documents, 1855-'56, part 2," page 162:

"This region of country, from the lake through to California, is infested by nomadic tribes of Indians, generally of the lowest order of beings. They are troublesome and dangerous to stock-drivers who yearly pass over this route."

Again, on page 163 of the same document, Captain Ingalls says: "They are like the beasts that roam over these wilds—little removed from them in instincts and habits." And again, sir, on page 165, in describing a certain spot, he says: "I was charmed with the beauties of the place, though sadly reminded of the fate of poor Captain Warner (who was massacred here) by the numerous telegraph-fires of the *treacherous* Indians." I might go on, sir, until I had consumed my whole hour in reading extracts from the official reports of other officers of the army and of the Indian bureau, to show that the gentleman is altogether mistaken in his estimate of the character of the northwestern Indians. I could show that, so far from their "never forgetting a kindness," their whole character is composed of a subtle compound of cruelty, vindictiveness, treachery, and ingratitude. I shall not pretend to say what the character of the Indians was with whom the gentleman had to deal in early life, but I do say that if he is correct in his estimate of their virtues, there was a marked improvement in the race from 1776 to 1812, when the gentleman obtained his experience. That instrument which is so often appealed to on this floor and elsewhere to prove that "all men are created free and equal" asserts, with no less emphasis, of these people, that they are "*merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.*" Such was their character in '76, and such is their character at this day. What it was in 1812 I leave to the history of those times to determine—that history whose every chapter contains the bloody record of their cruel massacres.

But the senior member from Ohio (Mr. GIDDINGS) is sorely afflicted at the fate of Pee-pee-mox-mox. I shall not stop here to refute the exaggerated, nay, totally incorrect account (emanating from a certain quarter) of the death of that "proud and haughty chief." I merely wish to state one fact, and I state it for the especial benefit of the gentleman from Ohio, (Mr. GIDDINGS,) for I am sure it was unknown to him at the time he wrought his sympathies up to such a high pitch in behalf of this, and all the other chiefs who have engaged in war against the whites in Washington Territory. It is this: Is the gentleman aware that he has at this late hour of his political life espoused the cause of the *slave-holder*? Can it be possible that he has, at last, abandoned all his hostility to the upholders and advocates of this institution? Why, sir, there is not such a *slavocracy* in the world as that which is composed of the head-men and leading families of these hostile Indians. There does not live a master who claims and exercises such absolute power over the person and services of his slave, as these "proud and haughty chiefs." Slavery in its most absolute form has existed among them by a positive law of the tribes from time "whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary." By that law the master is not only entitled to the services and acquisitions of his slave, but he claims and *exercises* the power of taking his life without being amenable to any law or custom whatever. This power, to take the life of a slave at pleasure, *has been actually exercised* by these same chiefs within a short time back, and long since the whites have settled in their midst. By these tribal laws there is no emancipation nor manumission. Nor is it possible for a slave to gain his freedom by escape into the jurisdiction of a neighboring tribe. No, sir, there is a fugitive slave law to return him to his master, without the benefit of trial by jury or *habeas corpus*. It is not the slave, sir, but the *slavocracy* with whom the people of my country are at war. I appeal to the gentleman from Ohio (Mr. GIDDINGS) if his sympathies are not all misplaced, and his tears most sadly wasted?

But I must hasten on to the causes which led to this war. I have some personal knowledge myself of the commencement of these difficulties, but it is not my purpose to take the witness-stand. I shall not enter into a detail of circumstances connected with the first manifestations of hostilities on the part of the Indians, of which I am personally cognizant, because I wish to refute the many charges which have been industriously promulgated against the people of my Territory by *record evidence*. A high official functionary of the government—no less than the commander of the Pacific department of the army—has seen fit, in this connexion, to prefer charges against the people of Washington and Oregon Territories, which, if true, ought to, and will subject them to the severest animadversions of a civilized world. And how does he do it? Now, Mr. Chairman, I have no harsh word to say of General Wool, unless it be harsh to oppose unfounded assertion with official statements, unless it be harsh to contradict hearsay rumor by positive record testimony. I do not enjoy the honor of a personal acquaintance with General Wool, sir, but the history of his past life

is not entirely unknown to me. I can read that history with pleasure; I can recall many of the stirring incidents of that life with pride as an American citizen. I know that the glory of his valorous deeds illuminates many pages of his country's history, and sheds lustre upon the triumph of American arms. I regret, sir, that the faithful chronicler of the present times will have to add a chapter to that history which will sadly contrast with its preceding pages.

I have inquired *how* has General Wool seen fit to appear before the public as the voluntary accuser of the whole people of two Territories? Has he been satisfied, in the discharge of his duties as a public officer, to confine himself to the usual official reports which the law requires him to make? Has he been called upon, by any of his superiors in office, for information upon points he has volunteered to elucidate? Not at all, sir. He appears before the country as a *volunteer* witness, and a *swift* one at that. Had he confined himself to the discharge of his *official duties*, I should not have deemed it my province to animadvert so freely upon his conduct; but as he has seen fit to lay aside all the dignity of official station, and voluntarily assume the character of a scribbling correspondent of a partizan press, I am sure he ought not to complain if his conduct, in this particular, should be subjected to the closest scrutiny, and his testimony to the most rigid cross-examination. Yes, sir, he has doffed the proud plume of the Major-General—unbuckled that sword, which, on foreign fields, had carved its way to fame, and snatched up the flowing pen of a ready scribbler, and appears before us in the garb of a hasty newspaper correspondent! Unmindful of the Army regulations—reckless of his former fame—bent on the gratification of personal spite, and that revenge which springs from mortified pride, in hot haste he rushes into the columns of the public prints, and there stoops to become the retailer of idle camp-gossip, and the maligner of sixty thousand American citizens! The deep humiliation which the contemplation of such a spectacle inspires is much aggravated and increased by a perusal of his several elaborate indictments. I shall only call the attention of the country to a few extracts from General Wool's newspaper correspondence, for the purpose of showing how widely he differs, in his statement of material facts, from every body else holding official position in the two Territories. Indeed his own official correspondence might be invoked for the purpose of showing his inconsistencies and errors, if better proof were not at hand.

In his letter to the National Intelligencer, dated at Benicia, California, April 2, 1856, Gen. Wool, in speaking of the causes which led to the war, makes use of the following language:

"It is said that the Yakamas, having become dissatisfied with the treaty made with them the summer before by Governor Stevens, determined on war. This was hastened, as it would seem, by some miners forcibly carrying away and ill treating some Yakama squaws."

Now, sir, it so happens that I was in the Yakama country only a few days before hostilities broke out. I had an interview with the chiefs of that tribe, and heard their complaints, but not one word was said about miners—or any one else—having "forcibly carried away and ill treated their squaws." And I will venture to assert that not a man, woman or child, in either of the Territories, ever dreamed that such a charge had been made, until the National Intelligencer of the 2d April, containing General Wool's letter, reached that coast—some seven months after the war had broken out. You may search the voluminous correspondence of Governors, Indian agents, and army officers, which has been called for by the House, and not the first intimation of any thing of the kind is to be found in any of them. I wish it to be borne in mind, Mr. Chairman, that in August, 1855, the first blood was shed in Washington Territory. A miner, on his way from Puget Sound to Fort Colville, having a good deal of money, provisions, &c., soon after passing beyond the limits of the Yakamas, was pursued by a party of Indians, massacred and robbed of everything he had with him. Shortly after, other murders were reported to have been committed in the Yakama country. In September, Indian Agent Bolon went into that country to ascertain something about these outrages, and he, too, was not permitted to return. He was murdered in the most cruel manner. When this occurred, there was no escaping the conviction that a general outbreak had been determined upon by the Indians. What had hitherto been conjecture now gave way to a sense of the fearful reality. About this time commences the official correspondence which relates to this subject—near three months before General Wool reached the country. Hear what Captain Cain says, who was at that time acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Washington Territory, during Governor Stevens's absence in the Blackfeet country. Let us see how Captain Cain's account agrees with General Wool's charge of "forcibly carrying away and ill-treating of Yakama squaws." In his official report, dated October, 6, 1855, to Col. Mannypenny, after referring to the particulars of Agent Bolon's death, and the manifest hostility of several tribes, he says, on page 193 of the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs:

"I attribute the cause of the outbreaks amongst the Yakamas and Klickatats to the rumors that have been afloat, and obtained credence among the Indians, that Governor Stevens

and his party had been massacred by the Blackfeet, and Major Haller and his command had been defeated by the Snakes, in his recent expedition against them. Believing that the whites were about to be overthrown in every direction, and having for some time been disaffected towards them, they deemed that the proper moment had arrived to gratify their enmity."

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General Palmer, Superintendent of Indian Affairs for Oregon, who went to the Dalles soon after the death of Bolon, for the express purpose of collecting reliable information in relation to the cause and extent of hostilities, sums up the result of his observations, as to the causes which led to the outbreak, in the following language, in an official communication to the Department, dated October 9th, 1855:

"There are several causes from which may be drawn reasons inducing the present state of disaffection among the Indians in Washington Territory, among which may be named the following: The Yakama Indians were represented in the Walla-Walla council by four of their principal chiefs, accompanied by a number of their leading men, all evidently at first opposed to entering into any negotiations for the sale of their country. After more than two weeks had been spent in trying to convince them of the importance and necessity of such a course in open council, they gave a decided and peremptory answer in the negative. But during the next week, by interviews with the chiefs separately, Governor Stevens induced them to agree to the terms of the treaty; and Kamiakin, who is declared by the treaty head chief of all the tribes and bands included in that purchase, came forward and signed the treaty, followed by the other chiefs. The head chief, however, stated at the time that he would not receive any of the goods promised, but that his people might take them.

"It is pretty evident that the signing of the treaty was adverse to the will of the nation, as expressed prior to the delegation's coming to the council, and that on the return of the chiefs they were beset by their people and denounced as traitors to their tribe. Two of the chiefs, Owhi and Skloo, evidently signed the treaty with great reluctance, and, after returning home and meeting with their friends, were easily induced to join in opposition to adhering to its provisions.

"The Klickitat tribe, whose country is included within the limits of this purchase, had declined attending the council, and were not represented by any of their tribe; and upon the return of these Yakama chiefs and people from the council, it is said the Klickitats were much enraged at the sale of their country without their knowledge or consent, and declared they would not abide by an agreement in which they had no voice."

Again, in an official communication to the Department, General Palmer, on the 25th of October, 1855, says:

"The evidences of a deep-rooted prejudice against our citizens prevail among all the tribes in middle and upper Oregon—the Nez Percés excepted. How far that feeling may be fanned and kept up by aliens from other countries, and their descendants, we are not able to judge; but that it does extend to the entire exclusion and occupancy of the country by our own citizens, is a fact undeniable."

Lieutenant Withers, U. S. A., who has been four years in the country, and who is well acquainted with the character of these Indians, and whose knowledge and judgment of such matters I would much prefer to General Wool's, in an official paper to the Adjutant General, dated November 12, 1853, writes as follows:

"In southern Oregon the Rogue river Indians, combined with some of those on the coast, the Umquas, Pitt-river, and Shasta Indians, have also broken out into a fresh war, and one of evidently intended extermination, against the whites. The causes leading to this may be different from those which excited hostilities in Washington Territory, where the motive was altogether political, and sprung from no actual grievance; but its result must, of course, be the same."

General Palmer again writes to General Wool on the 21st November, 1853, thus:

"As to the Yakamas, there is no excuse for their acts of aggression, and there is no disposition on the part of those engaged in the Indian department to screen them or their confederates from the punishment they so justly merit."

The next day (November 22) Captain Cain writes to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in this wise:

"There is abundant evidence to my mind that this war has been contemplated by the Indians for the last three or four years, and I will take the proper steps to get the testimony in shape and submit it to your consideration at the earliest practicable moment."

Mr. Chairman, I might multiply this testimony to a tedious extent, all going to show, clearly, how utterly groundless is General Wool's charge against the miners of precipitating this war by "forcibly carrying away and ill-treating some Yakama squaws;" but I think I have read enough to satisfy any unprejudiced mind upon that point. Let it be remembered that all of these officers, from whose reports I have read extracts, were present in the country and well acquainted with the Indians, while General Wool was near a thousand miles distant for three months after the first acts of hostility were committed by the Indians.

I now come to speak of the manner in which this war has been conducted. And in this connexion I desire to notice an assertion which General Wool made in his official communication, and has reiterated in his newspaper correspondence, to the effect that "volunteers were unnecessary;" that they were called into service and sent to the Walla-Walla country "for no other purpose than to plunder the treasury of the United States, and to make political capital for somebody," &c. Now, Mr. Chairman, one would naturally suppose that a

charge of so grave a nature would not be lightly made—would not be caught up from the baseless tales of idle rumor, and embodied in an official report by an officer commanding one of the departments of our army, without the shadow of a foundation, or the first scintilla of evidence to substantiate it. Yet such is the fact, for it rests upon the naked assertion of General Wool, and is contradicted by every act of the officers, volunteers, and citizens of the Territories, and by every circumstance connected with their operations. Gen. Wool has lent his once-high name, too, to a declaration as cruel and unfeeling as it has proved to be untrue, viz: that “the war is a god-send.” Surely General Wool did not intend to mock at the calamity of these people. A god-send, indeed, Sir! To whom? How? Mr. Chairman, in the name of the gallant, noble, and lamented Slaughter, I protest against such cold, unmitigated calumny! In the name of the brave and generous Moses, I pronounce it a cruel slander. By the bleeding agony of those widowed hearts they have left behind them, I protest against it. In the names of Miles, McAlister, White, Northcraft, Brannan, Sinclair, Griswold, Hembree, Chinn, Lupton, and their comrades—in the names of *twenty murdered women and babes*, I protest against it. In the name of humanity I pronounce it cold, unfeeling and untrue. Whoever the author of such a sentiment may be, let him go through the world with the blood of *three hundred murdered citizens upon his skirts*.—But, says General Wool, these volunteers were unnecessary. Remember, General Wool was in California at the time they were called out, and it is not to be presumed that he could judge of the exigency as well as those who were on the spot. At the time of the outbreak, Maj. Raines was in command of the U. S. troops in this region: What did he think of the necessity for volunteers? I have time only to refer to the evidences on this point, and to state the main facts: the details are contained in the official despatches before me as published to the country. On the 9th of October, 1855, Maj. Rains writes to Gov. Curry that the expedition sent to the Yakama country under command of Maj. Haller, comprised of over 100 men, with a mountain howitzer, had failed; that “Maj. Haller was surrounded, and had called for reinforcements;” that he had “ordered all the United States disposable force into the field immediately;” that as “this force was questionable to subdue the Indians,” he therefore called upon him (Governor Curry) for four companies of volunteers and upon Governor Mason for two. But General Wool attempts to get round this material point by asserting that “the Major (Raines) partook somewhat of the alarm pervading the country.” If this were true, does it furnish any reasonable excuse for Congress refusing to pay the volunteers thus called into service, which seems to be the main object of General Wool’s extraordinary publications? But was there no cause for this alarm? Had not Agent Bolon been brutally murdered by these Indians? Is it not a fact that Mattice and other miners had been massacred? And had not the Superintendents of both Territories officially reported the fact that there was a powerful combination of several of these tribes for the “purpose of exterminating” the whites? and that nothing short of a large military force could prevent a disastrous war? Did not Agent Olney, (who was at that time in the Walla-Walla country,) write to Governor Curry that the “storm was gathering;” that it required “a large military force to keep them back;” that “the regular force in the country was insufficient for the protection of the settlers;” that *one thousand volunteers should be raised immediately, and sent into this part of Oregon and Washington Territories?* Thus called upon as Governor Curry was, by the commanding officer of the United States troops, by each of the Superintendents of Indian affairs, and the Indian agent, who was personally present in the region where the troops were needed, yet General Wool, affecting a patriotic desire to protect the Treasury from “plunder” and “depletion,” has the hardihood, in the face of these facts, to assert that the Governor “usurped his power;” that Major Raines “partook somewhat of the alarm pervading the country,” and that “the volunteers were unnecessary to protect the citizens of Oregon.” With these unmistakable evidences of impending peril to the whole country before him, Governor Curry would have been wanting in all those qualities which so eminently befit him for the position he holds, if he had not promptly responded to the call which was made upon him. Read the record, sir, of the privations and hardships these volunteers endured, and tell me if “plunder” could have inspired such heroism. Sir, if the commanding general’s physical exertions to protect the settlers, had been at all commensurate with his newspaper efforts to delay Congress in taking favorable action in their behalf, he might have saved the lives of at least twelve men, women and children who fell at the Cascades.

Mr. Chairman, my time admonishes me that I must omit many things that I desired to say, and merely allude to others without stopping to comment upon them as they deserve. General Wool has shed much ink and expended no small amount of sympathy upon Pee-pee-mox-mox, the Walla-Walla chief, whom, he says, the volunteers “barbarously killed.” For a full and complete refutation of General Wool’s charges on this point, I refer the committee and the country to the official report of the gallant Col. Kelly, who commanded the volunteers in the memorable fight when Pee-pee-mox-mox fell. The facts as there related are simply these: The chief had been retained by Col. Kelly as a prisoner; his

warriors in large force attacked Col. Kelly (the volunteers *did not* commence the attack, as General Wool asserts;) in the midst of the fight, the chief and his companions rose upon the guard, wounded one them, and then it was that he was killed; and this is what General Wool calls "barbarous!" and seems to think that the fact that Pee-pee-mox-mox came into Col. Kelly's camp under a white flag, much enhances the "barbarity" of the killing. Let us see what General Wool thought of similar proceedings but a short time before. I will read his official account of a little affair which came off at Fort Boise, in Oregon, July 16, 1855. Speaking of Major Haller's expedition against the Snake Indians, he says:

"The command reached Fort Boise July 15, Mr. Olney, Indian agent, being with it. The next day a talk was held with some two hundred Indians there collected, of whom sixty-five were warriors; and it having been ascertained that four of the murderers were present, they were seized, brought before a board of officers, or, as Major Haller terms it, a military commission, and, their guilt having been clearly established, three were hung on the graves of their victims, the 16th; the fourth was shot by the guard in endeavoring to escape. The proceedings of the commission are herewith enclosed."

Here, sir, "a talk" was being held, four of the Indians present were "seized," "three were hung" on the spot, and "*the fourth was shot by the guard in endeavoring to escape.*" Did it then occur to General Wool that there was any thing *barbarous* in shooting a prisoner who attempted to escape? And it does not appear either that this prisoner made any attempt upon the life of the guard. Did it occur to General Wool then that there was any thing irregular in hanging on the spot the other three prisoners who had come into the fort for the purpose of having "a talk"? Not at all. On the contrary, such conduct was to be highly applauded, and must needs be noticed in terms of praise in an official report to General Scott. Hear what General Wool says about it:

"The activity and energy of Major Haller, and the officers of his command, deserve commendation."

It cannot be that General Wool means to imply that what is "barbarous" in volunteers, "deserves commendation" in troops of the regular Army. It is true General Wool, with all his knowledge and experience in every branch of his profession, was somewhat at a loss to find an appropriate name for the tribunal which *tried and hung* the other three prisoners, but he complacently adopts Major Haller's term for it, and calls it "a military commission!!" What though it may have been somewhat *irregular*, yet as there were no *volunteers* present to give it a semblance of "barbarity," why, it "deserves commendation!!" Now, Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to be misunderstood. I have not alluded to this affair for the purpose of condemning the action of Major Haller or the officers who accompanied him on that expedition. On the contrary, I believe with General Wool that they "deserve commendation," more especially for hanging these three murderers and for shooting the other when he attempted to escape. I know most of the officers who were in that expedition, and I believe I may safely say, if any one of them had had the control of the military operations in these Territories, many lives would have been saved, and the war might now have been at end. I have only referred to the matter for the purpose of exposing one of General Wool's many inconsistencies.

Mr. Chairman, I have no time to go into details; I must content myself with a simple denial of General Wool's charges, and appeal to the official papers on record to sustain that denial. He charges that the volunteers wantonly set fire to and burned the Atahnum mission: the official report shows that it was "accidentally" burned. He charges that the expedition to Walla-Walla was against *friendly* Indians: all the official reports show that the Walla-Wallas had driven off Mr. Sinclair, plundered the fort, divided the spoils, and with a force of nearly a thousand warriors, actually attacked Colonel Kelly's command before he had fired a single gun. He charges that white men violated a squaw and cruelly strangled a whole family of friendly Indians at the Cascades: I defy any one to prove it, for Major Hays left that vicinity since General Wool charges the atrocity to have been committed, and in the public prints pronounces the whole affair a fabrication. He charges similar outrages upon Major Lupton and party, and for a complete refutation of such charges, I refer to Gen. Lane's speech in the House upon that subject. He charges that the war in Washington Territory was brought about by "some miners forcibly carrying away and ill treating Yakama squaws." He admits in the same letter that the "*Yakamas are the authors of the war.*" He charges that the war in the Rogue River country is wholly to be attributed to the whites; and on the 4th of September, in an official despatch to headquarters, he admits that the first blood shed was "at a council held by the Oregon superintendent, (where) *an Indian shot a white man.*" At one moment the people are charged with being actuated by a desire to "plunder the public treasury," and in the next to gratify a bloodthirsty revenge. In one despatch we are told that the Walla-Wallas are friendly; the next mail brings the intelligence that, for four days, they have opposed, in open field, to Colonel Kelly's command *near a thousand* armed and painted warriors. Now they are peaceful—then they plunder the fort and lay waste the adjacent country. At one time the expedition to Walla-Walla is entirely

unnecessary, very soon, nay, at the very time, he regrets that the condition of his horses are such that he cannot send a force into that country. One week he has a sufficient force at his command to conquer from "150 hostiles a lasting peace"—the next, he calls upon Gov. Stevens for two companies of volunteers to assist him, when he *knows they cannot be furnished*. He denies his authority to call for volunteers, yet when it suits his purpose to do so, he claims that authority, and points to the instructions of the Secretary of War, dated 4th December, 1855, to sustain his claim. He utterly repudiated Major Raines's call; yet when no one asks it, and there are only "150 or 200 hostiles" to be subdued, he calls for two companies of volunteers to assist him. He denies the right of the Oregon volunteers to pay, because they had not been mustered into the service; yet he recommends that others be paid who were similarly situated. I defy the ingenuity of man to concoct such another heterogeneous medley of errors, inconsistencies, and contradictions. Truly, "whom the Gods would destroy, they first make mad."

Now, sir, I charge General Wool with having violated an express regulation of the Army, whereby he is liable to dismissal from the service. Here is the regulation:

"Private letters or reports, relative to military marches and operations, are frequently mischievous in design, and *always disgraceful* to the army; they are, therefore, strictly forbidden; and any officer found guilty of making such report for publication, without special permission, or of placing the writing beyond his control, so that it finds its way to the press, within one month after the termination of the campaign to which it relates, shall be dismissed from the service."

Lastly, I had desired to say something of the present condition of that country, growing out of this disastrous war—something of its physical beauties and advantages, its mild and salubrious climate, its bold, pure, running streams, its magnificent forests, and broad prairies, its rich valleys and snow-capped mountains—how "the earth teems with riches, and heaven smiles with beneficence," but the time allotted me will not permit. It is a *good* country, sir; one pleasant to live in; one worth defending and protecting. Her citizens are loyal, industrious, and law-abiding; they love this Union, and cling to the memories of their childhood homes. Every State in this confederacy has a representative there; every member of this committee has a constituent there. Will you abandon such a country? Will you forsake such a people? In the infancy of their settlements, they were weak when this war broke out upon them. The United States troops were too few to protect them. It takes months to get reinforcements from the Atlantic border. There was no other salvation for their wives and children than for the men to embody themselves in a little band for defence. With the helpless families in forts and block-houses and the men in the field, all agricultural pursuits were of necessity abandoned. Thus situated, their barns have been destroyed, their fields laid waste, and their dwellings committed to the flames of the Red man's torch. Great pecuniary distress—absolute want has been the consequence—aye, the Governor says, "starvation stares them in the face." I cannot believe that the Representatives of the people of this American Republic will withhold from their brothers in this distant land their simple dues. I cannot believe that they will refuse to pay these people for services which the government troops were bound to perform. If any one has been actuated by the desire of public "plunder," guard your bill so that the plunderer may not gain access to the Treasury. Will you withhold what is right, and proper, and just, merely because human nature sometimes develops itself in the form of depravity?

Afford the relief which the necessities of these people so loudly call for, and you will have discharged a duty, for which your constituents will applaud you, and mine will ever be grateful.

